

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 JAKARTA 03196 01 OF 02 110136Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
AID-05 CU-04 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /071 W
-----064144 110152Z /63

R 100935Z MAR 78

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7382
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMCONSUL MEDAN
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMCONSUL SURABAYA
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 3196

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, ID
SUBJECT: ON THE EVE OF THE MPR GENERAL SESSION

REF: (A) JAKARTA 1885; (B) JAKARTA 2123

1. SUMMARY: A SUPERFICIALLY FESTIVE ATMOSPHERE ON THE EVE OF THE GENERAL SESSION OF THE PEOPLE'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY (MPR) OVERLAYS CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL TENSION AS GOVERNMENT AND PARTY LEADERS SEEK LAST MINUTE RESOLUTIONS TO CONFLICTS ON MYSTICISM, THE INDONESIAN NATIONAL YOUTH COMMITTEE, THE PANCA SILA GUIDE AND PROCEDURES FOR NOMINATING THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT. UNDER STRONG GOVERNMENT PRESSURE TO DESIST FROM DISRUPTING THE SESSION, DESERTED BY OTHER POLITICAL PARTY COLLEAGUES AND THREATENED PERHAPS BY DEFECTIONS, THE MOSLEM OPPOSITION HAS LITTLE ROOM TO MANEUVER. WHILE PUBLICLY THREATENING TO DEMAND A MAJORITY VOTE OR EVEN TO WALK OUT, IT MAY WELL OPT FOR A WEAKER EXPRESSION

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 JAKARTA 03196 01 OF 02 110136Z

OF DISPLEASURE IN THE FORM OF A MINORITY REPORT. MPR CHAIRMAN ADAM MALIK IS NOW WIDELY TIPPED TO REPLACE SULTAN HAMENGKUBUWONO AS VICE PRESIDENT SOON AFTER IF NOT DURING THE MPR. END SUMMARY.

2. IN THE LAST FEW DAYS HUNDREDS OF MEMBERS OF THE PEOPLE'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY (MPR) FROM OUTLYING AREAS HAVE BEEN

ARRIVING IN JAKARTA FOR THE 1978 GENERAL SESSION WHICH WILL ELECT A PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT AND ADOPT NEW GUIDELINES FOR STATE POLICY (GBHN) FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS. THEY HAVE FOUND A CITY DECORATED WITH NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL FLAGS, FESTIVE BANNERS, AND HUGE SIGNS WELCOMING THE MPR AND WISHING IT SUCCESS. THE MPR HAS BECOME THE MAJOR NEWS TOPIC IN THE PRESS, AND 359 LOCAL AND FOREIGN NEWSMEN HAVE APPLIED FOR THE 50 PRESS PASSES ISSUED FOR THE OPENING SESSION MARCH 11. UNDERNEATH THE FESTIVE ATMOSPHERE IS CONSIDERABLE TENSION CAUSED BY THE FAILURE OF PRE-SESSION NEGOTIATIONS TO PRODUCE THE CONSENSUS THAT HAS TRADITIONALLY CHARACTERIZED THESE AFFAIRS. SECURITY FORCES CONTINUE TO BE HIGHLY VISIBLE AND LATE MARCH 10 WERE BUSY BREAKING UP SCATTERED GROUPS OF STUDENT AGITATORS.

3. THE FINAL SCHEDULE FOR THE SESSIONS CALLS FOR THE PRESIDENT TO PRESENT AN ACCOUNTING OF HIS ADMINISTRATION FOR THE LAST FIVE YEARS ON MARCH 11 FOLLOWED ON THE SAME DAY BY PLENARY SESSIONS TO DISCUSS THE DRAFT STATE GUIDELINES (GBHN), THE GUIDE TO THE UNDERSTANDING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF PANCAKISILA (P4), AND THE PROCEDURES FOR NOMINATING THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT. AFTER COMMITTEE MEETINGS AND MORE PLENARY SESSIONS THE MPR IS TO APPROVE ITS BASIC RESOLUTIONS ON THESE SUBJECT MARCH 21, ELECT THE PRESIDENT MARCH 22, AND CONCLUDE MARCH 23 WITH THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL SPEECH AND THE ELECTION OF THE VICE PRESIDENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 JAKARTA 03196 01 OF 02 110136Z

4. REPORTS THAT DPR/MPR CHAIRMAN MALIK WILL REPLACE SULTAN HAMENGKUBUWONO AS VICE PRESIDENT NOW HAVE WIDE CURRENCY. GOLKAR GROUPS CONTINUE TO ACCLAIM PUBLICLY THE SUHARTO-HAMENGKUBUWONO TICKET, HOWEVER, AND A HIGH LEVEL FON DEPT SOURCE ASSURED US THAT THE SULTAN WILL RUN, PERHAPS STEPPING DOWN SHORTLY AFTER HIS ELECTION.

5. IN HIS USUAL BREEZY STYLE, MPR CHAIRMAN ADAM MALIK THREW OUT A FIGURE OF 87 UNSOLVED PROBLEMS FOR THE MPR AT HIS MARCH 6 PRESS CONFERENCE. REFUSING TO SPECIFY THE CRUCIAL POINTS, HE TOLD REPORTERS, "WELL, IF YOU COUNT THE PERIODS AND THE COMMAS, THAT'S THE NUMBER, AND IT CAN EVEN BE BIGGER." HE EXPRESSED OPTIMISM, HOWEVER, THAT ALL DIFFERENCES COULD BE RESOLVED, ADDING THAT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE FOR ANY FACTION TO TAKE A STRONGER POSITION THAN THE SUBMISSION OF A MINORITY NOTE. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MPR STEERING COMMITTEE SESSION THE FOLLOWING DAY, MALIK SAID HE WAS CONVINCED THAT DELIBERATIONS WOULD PROCEED SUCCESSFULLY INTO THE FINAL STAGES, NOTING THAT THE COMMITTEE'S REPORTS HAD BEEN APPROVED UNANIMOUSLY. HOWEVER, VARIOUS MATTERS NOT AGREED TO (MOSTLY BY THE PPP) HAD BEEN SENT

AS A MINORITY REPORT TO THE MPR LEADERSHIP.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 JAKARTA 03196 02 OF 02 110135Z

ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
AID-05 CU-04 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /071 W
-----064095 110152Z /63

R 100935Z MAR 78

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7383
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMCONSUL MEDAN
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMCONSUL SURABAYA
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 2 JAKARTA 3196

6. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS HAVE GIVEN
VARYING ACCOUNTS OF THE WEEK AHEAD.

A) KOPKAMTIB CIEF OF STAFF ADMIRAL SUDOMO GAVE ASSURANCES THAT THE SECURITY SITUATION WAS UNDER CONTROL, NOTING THAT THE "QUIET WEEK" DECREED MARCH 4-11 HAD BEEN PROCEEDING WITHOUT ANY PROBLEMS. GOLKAR LEADERS CALLED FOR CONTINUING DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN FACTIONS TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES, AND THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THAT IT HAS RECEIVED 928 MESSAGES FROM REGIONAL BODIES AND GROUPS SUPPORTING THE DRAFT GBHN, P4, AND THE RE-ELECTION OF SUHARTO AND THE SULTAN.

B) DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDI) SECRETARY GENERAL SABAM SIRAIT TOLD REPORTERS MARCH 8 THAT THE VARIOUS MPR FACTIONS HAVE SHOWN SIGNS OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON MAJOR ISSUES, AND A MINORITY REPORT SHOULD NOT BE NECESSARY. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT ADDITIONAL LOBBYING MIGHT STILL BE NEEDED TO SECURE AGREEMENT ON P4, GENERAL ELECTION PROVISION (THE PDI WANTS JOINT PARTY/GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY).

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 JAKART 03196 02 OF 02 110135Z

BILITY FOR CONDUCTING THEM), AND SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL POWERS.

C) DEVELOPMENT UNITED PARTY PPP LEADER ZAMRONI TOLD EMBOFF MARCH 9 THAT THERE ARE STILL WIDE DIFFERENCES OF POSITION ON KEPER-CAYAAN AND THE NOMINATING PROCEDURES, AND THE PPP OBJECTS TO THE WHOLE CONCEPT OF P4. MORE LOBBYING WAS NEEDED, HE SAID, SINCE IT WAS STILL UNCLEAR WHAT APPROACHES GOLKAR WOULD ALLOW THE PPP TO TAKE ON THESE ISSUES. IF POSSIBLE, THEY WOULD PREFER TO TAKE NO PART IN THE DEBATE ON P4 AND TO SUBMIT A MINORITY REPORT ON THE OTHER ISSUES. ZAMRONI SAID THERE WAS LITTLE CHANCE OF A WALKOUT, ALTHOUGH ONE OR TWO HOTHEADS MIGHT GO OFF ON THEIR OWN, AND HE NOTED THERE WERE STRONG HINTS COMING FROM GOVERNMENT LEADERS THAT IF THE PPP WERE TOO HARDNOSED IN ITS OBJECTIONS IT MIGHT NOT GET ANY POSITIONS AT ALL IN THE NEW CABINET. HIS FELLOW PARTY LEADER NUDDIN LUBIS, HEAD OF THE PPP'S DELEGATION IN THE MPR, TOLD THE PRESS MARCH 9 THAT THE PPP WOULD CONTINUE ITS OPPOSITION TO THE INCLUSION OF REFERENCES TO KEPERCAYAAN (JAVANESE MYSTICISM) IN THE GBHN AS WELL AS TO THE P4 IN ITS ENTIRETY, AND FAVORED MODIFYING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RULES TO PERMIT 30 MPR MEMBERS TO NOMINATE A CANDIDATE.

7. COMMENT: MALIK'S FIGURE OF 87 POINTS AT ISSUE ASIDE, THE FOUR MAJOR ITEMS STILL DIVIDING THE PPP AND THE GOVERNMENT FACTIONS ARE: KEPERCAYAAN, THE PANCASILA GUIDE (P4), MENTION OF THE INDONESIAN NATIONAL YOUTH COMMITTEE (KNPI) IN THE GBHN, AND THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION PROCEDURES. THE USE OF A MINORITY REPORT NOW SEEMS THE MOST LIKELY SOLUTION TO THE CLASSIC CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT'S IRRESISTIBLE FORCEFULNESS AND THE PPP'S IMMOVABLE OBJECTIONS. THE PDI, AS USUAL BOTH LAST AND LEAST, HAS STILL NOT BEEN ABLE TO SOLVE INTERNAL DIFFERENCES AND AGREE ON THE PARTY'S

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 JAKART 03196 02 OF 02 110135Z

LIST OF 10 ADDITIONAL MPR DELEGATES. THEY APPEAR, HOWEVER, TO BE PREDOMINANTLY UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF PRO-GOVERNMENT PARTY LEADERS IN THE MPR AND WILL PROBABLY COOPERATE WITH GOLKAR ON ALMOST ALL ISSUES, LEAVING THE PPP ISOLATED.

MASTERS

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, MEETINGS, CENTRAL LEGISLATURE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 mar 1978
Decapton Date: 01 jan 1960
Decapton Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978JAKART03196
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780109-0015
Format: TEL
From: JAKARTA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780383/aaaacsnv.tel
Line Count: 217
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 5badacc9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 JAKARTA 1885, 78 JAKARTA 2123
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3376066
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ON THE EVE OF THE MPR GENERAL SESSION
TAGS: PINT, ID
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/5badacc9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014